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233 136 [234] 233 136 372 237 [232] 136

morn till nightfall and in the rainy season they are menaced by mosquitos as soon as the sun sets.

When the rains commence the cattle are taken back to the permanent villages and, as mosquitos become numerous, they are milked towards sunset and then at once tethered in the byres, the doors being closed after them. In the centre of each byre a huge fire of dried dung sends out clouds of smoke so dense that it is impossible for a European to remain there for several minutes. One cannot even see the cattle. One can only hear their movements as they chew the cud (*nyŏk*) and change their position. The smoke and heat are so oppressive that I have often wondered how either Nuer or their cattle survive the atmosphere night after night. Young men sleep on a platform above the fire and if the smoke becomes less dense one of them descends to stir up the fire and pile on more dung, for as soon as the smoke beings to clear—it escapes through the thatched roof—mosquitos enter. When the cattle are brought into the kraal before sunrise they are sleepy. I suppose that they have not had a very restful night in the stifling atmosphere of the byres. Nuer realize that the heat and smoke of the byres are bad for the cattle but they consider that mosquitos are worse. At the end of the rainy season and at the commencement of the dry season they leave the cattle outside till they go to bed themselves. Then they have to shut them in the byres because they would inevitably be devoured by lions if left all night unguarded in the kraals. They do not make up the fires so high at this time of the year for after the first millet harvest has been reaped mosquitos are far less numerous near the villages, since there is now no standing water and the grasses have been close-cropped on the ridges by the flocks and herds. Later those who still remain in the villages often erect windscreens in the kraals and spend the night with the cattle outside.

136

The worst months for mosquitos are July, August and September, when there is surface water and when the millet crop is well grown, for swarms of mosquitos shelter beneath the broad leaves of the millet during the heat of the day. As soon as the sun sets one hears Nuer slapping mosquitoes on their bodies as they sit by the kraal

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136 773 "Oh! He can brush away Mosquito with a bird's wing." God said, "All right." For the first few days Man brushed mosquitos aside. Then he found that it was useless so he suffered them.

136 233 Another unpleasant insect pest is the seroot fly (*riw*). Seroot are seasonal. They flourish on cloudy days from May to July. I have not seen them in this latitude from the end of July to the beginning of May. When I was at Konye in May and at Yakwac in July they appeared in swarms every morning shortly before the cattle were driven to pasture, between 9 and 9.30 a.m. At the same hour every morning I was driven from my tent by their painful stings. Fortunately when the cattle go to pasture the seroot flies accompany them. On most mornings at Konye about two hours after being driven to pasture the herd came stampeding back kicking their legs and lashing out with their tails and dung fires had to be lit in the kraal to protect them. There was no need to tether the cattle for they were only too grateful to be allowed to stand near the fires and let the smoke envelope them. Only when there was a shower of rain did they get any relief in the pastures, for rain drives seroot away. On cloudy rainless days the poor beasts ran back to the village covered with seroot and their flanks stained with blood. On such days they were not able to graze for more than two or three hours.

136 •232 By August the seroot has gone but the stumoxis (*wuik*) remains. It is a small black biting fly which is present in the rains and, I think, in the dry season also. It is probably responsible for the presence of trypanosomiasis in parts of Nuerland, transferring the trypanosomes directly on its proboscis from beast to beast, for the tsetse (*mi* or *ink liec*) does not occur in Nuerland, except perhaps in parts of Eastern Gaajak country, which I have not visited, though its lethal character is well known to Nuer. Indeed they have probably had to take it into account in their expansion eastwards for there can be little doubt that the main reason for their evacuation of Anuakland, which they conquered as far as the foothills of the Abyssinian escarpment was the loss of their cattle from trypanosomiasis carried by tsetse, which occupy a belt of country at the foot of the escarpment whenever dense forest occurs.

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136 ants in the wooded area near the junction of the Sobat and the Nyanding Rivers and they may be regarded as uncommon in Nuerland, since they are probably found only where there is fairly thick forest. They sometimes get into the byres and the cattle have to be taken outside while efforts are made to drive them away with ashes. When they invaded my camp our efforts were unavailing. We fought them for five days with fire and ashes and water and, though it was the worst time of the year for mosquitos, I was compelled to sleep the last three nights in a deck-chair surrounded by a ring of fire. On the sixth day we gave up the struggle and broke camp.

114 I have ventured to give some of my own experiences because one of the great difficulties of working as an anthropologist, or indeed in any other capacity, in Nuerland, is the constant irritation caused by insects and the exhaustion and sickness that finally ensue. To 233 appreciate what the Nuer have to endure it is well to endure for a while the same torments. While their cattle have to live in such conditions the breed cannot well be improved and the milk yield increased, for they never get any real rest and the continual irritation caused them by insects must greatly lower their vitality and render them an easy prey to disease. In the circumstances their hardiness and endurance is remarkable.

XII.

232 Having had no veterinary training I cannot list all the diseases from which cattle suffer in Nuerland. The most serious scourge is certainly rinderpest (*nyapec, nyapec Deang, nyanjut mannyuac*).

The usual name in most parts of Nuerland is *nyapec*. It is given a female name because of the supposed female properties of serious epidemics. Similarly, severe cases of smallpox are spoken of as female and light cases as male. A Nuer, with whom Miss Soule was once discussing rinderpest, when asked by her why it had a feminine prefix replied, " Would any man do such a thing as to kill all the cattle ? " The wild dog is called *jiok nyapec* and I have been told that it is so called because wild dogs brought rinderpest to the cattle (*caa nyapec noong dōōr e ken*).

232 Nuer know no way of combating rinderpest once it has attacked a herd but they are aware that an infected herd must be isolated. The Lou along the Sobat River in 1931 did their best to prevent any cattle from moving across their grazing grounds from infected districts and seemed well aware that the disease is carried on the hooves of cattle. They may have gained this knowledge from Europeans but Jackson records as early as 1924, when contact with Europeans was very slight: "Diseased skins are sold to the pedlars (Arabic speaking traders from the northern Sudan) who wander through their country. To this fact the Nuer themselves attribute the widespread disease that has taken enormous toll of their herds during the past few years. It is also interesting to note that they believe the disease to be carried on the hooves of the pedlars' donkeys.....The Jekaing, however, in the Bahr el Ghazal Province (Western Jikany) make such stringent quarantine regulations that if a man is known to have eaten of an animal that has died of cattle plague he is not allowed in a district free of the disease."

232 Nuer also try to protect their cattle by splitting up the herd,
233 especially in the dry season, so that if rinderpest breaks out in some districts and is not carried to every district, only part of the herd is affected. Thus a man may keep some of his cattle in camp at the inland pool of *Muŏt dit* while his son takes two or three animals to the Geni River and one or two cows are placed with a relative-in-law in Gaawăr country or in the Dinka swamps. Likewise many men who camp on the Sobat leave some of their cattle at inland pools at Nyarol.

232 Nuer are aware that if an animal recovers from rinderpest it is immune from future attacks and greatly value such beasts. They are also aware that immunity of a cow does not mean immunity for its calves.

Rinderpest causes havoc among the herds and it is a bitter experience to live among the Nuer when their cattle are infected. They can only look on helplessly, more morose and resigned than ever, while it destroys some two thirds of their beasts. Youths see

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•232 [181] their chance of marrying in the near future vanish and everyone is threatened with hunger and poverty. When we consider all that cattle mean to Nuer it is easy to imagine their grief and forebodings. But they do not show grief or express forebodings. They do not let one see what they suffer. They meet disaster with calm mien and speak of their loss with philosophic detachment.

Next to rinderpest the most serious contagious disease is probably bovine pleuro-pneumonia (*jöndapuöth, jök puöthni, jok nya puöth döör*). In some years it causes heavy mortality among the herds. Nuer treat it by chewing certain leaves or bark and blowing them up the nostrils of sick animals.

Among the Eastern Jikany—and perhaps in other parts of Nuerland—though I am uncertain of this—cattle sometimes die of trypanosomiasis (*noi jöklaca*). As already explained tsetse is not the carrier but biting flies, probably stumoxis and perhaps, seroot, are responsible for direct transmission. What effect this mode of transmission has on the trypanosomes does not appear to be known, but it is evident that the disease must be to some extent endemic and that it manifests itself only in periods of low vitality, as in years of heavy floods or of exceptional drought. Mr. Corfield tells me that among the Eastern Jikany an animal showing signs of trypanosomiasis is burnt across the back with a piece of red-hot iron, probably a heated spearhead: "Firing marks are about six inches across, three inches on each side of the spine and extend from the withers, below the hump, almost to the root of the tail." This treatment, presumably, is useless.

There is a disease called *köön*, probably ringworm, which causes sores all over the body. Nuer treat it by pounding the dung of ostriches and hyaenas and dusting the sores with this powder. Another disease is called *döönу*. Its symptoms are unknown but the treatment is to tie a strip of buffalo's or tiang's skin round the cow's neck and to tether it in the sun without food or water for two or three days. This is said to cure it. *Dät*, probably, 'foul on the foot,' is a disease

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of the hooves which is often fatal. Another disease of unknown symptoms is *puc* (*puc nyacar, nyacar*). There is a disease called *kec* which is treated by the animals ears, and sometimes its horns also, being cut with a spear heated in the fire (*ba kec tem kä mac*). This sickness causes abscesses in the ears which are therefore scraped out. It also causes the horns to become hollow and if this is found to be the case the horns are either cut or bored. 232

Goats and sheep have their special diseases: *fanynain*, probably sheep-pox, *wïtruny*, fluke, in which the liver and gall-bladder are enlarged and full of sores, etc. They also suffer from trypanosomiasis.

jök is a generic name for all diseases of cattle, sheep and goats. The word may be incorporated from the Dinka and some expressions in which it figures, *e.g., jöndapuöth*, bovine pleural-pneumonia, show very clearly Dinka construction. The kind of *jök* which is afflicting the cattle is specified in the names of different diseases or in different names for the same disease, *e.g., jondapuoth, jökiace, jökdiu, jok nyuntiel*, and *jok nyanjut*. Nuer appear to regard contagious diseases of cattle as spirits which suddenly come, for no apparent reason, as diseases of men come. Nuer say that they are spirits sent by God. They say "*Ce jok ben piny, cas kam piny e kuth*," "The disease has come to earth, it is brought to earth by God."

Besides veterinary medicines used to cure sickness, some of which may have therapeutic properties and be considered drugs, Nuer possess medicines which are used for other purposes than to cure sickness and we probably do not wrongly assess their value when we say it is purely of a magical order. Such are the medicines placed in churning gourds and churned with the milk to ensure a good supply of cheese. The roots of the following plants were recorded as having this use: *Cancan*, (*Trianthema pentandra*) *githluat, kuäk*. The seeds of a sweet smelling plant that grows on camp and village sites called *mïth* (*Ocimum americanum L.*), are boiled with the cheese to make it sweet and keep long. 232 789 251 789

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• 232 Before a cow is taken to a bull to be served the root of a plant called *rialow* (*Clitoria Ternatea L.*) is chewed and blown up its nostrils to ensure conception. A plant called *när teyänga* (*wut thöiva yang*) is given in an infusion to be swallowed by a cow which has aborted its calf. An infusion made from a plant called *tam kwir* is administered to cows which are milk-bound. An infusion from the *dep gany* plant is given to a cow which retains the afterbirth and an infusion from the stalks of the *cawcaw* creeper is given to a cow which refuses to suckle its calf.

Nuer love to hear their favourite oxen lowing and Mr. Corfield tells me that among the Eastern Jikany to induce an ox to low they take the feathers of the ground hornbill (*rumyuat*), a bird which has a deep-toned booming call, and after grinding them and mixing them with water, give them to their oxen to drink. Better still, if the whole bird can be obtained, its innards are used in this way instead of its feathers. Another bird used for the same purpose is the African cuckoo (*kwei Nithair*).

The usual ways of administering medicines to cattle are to give them in an infusion through the mouth or to chew them and blow them up the nostrils (*liang yang*).

[787] There are very few cattle medicines. Indeed, the Nuer, like other Nilotic peoples are very deficient in all forms of magic and in those situations where ritual is employed the ghosts or the spirits are invoked.

The only wounds of cattle which I have seen treated are broken horns. It sometimes happens that a cow or ox is horned by another in a byre and in turning to get out of the way it cracks its horns against one of the big trunks that support the roof of the byre and breaks one of them. Nuer fear lest the animal may die since there is rain everyday and, in the early part of the wet season, many flies. They cover the wound with *dil luak*, the brown sooty deposit which collects over the wood and thatch of byres when fires have burnt in them for some years.

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is not exclusively his and he cannot use it in the way in which bullocks are used for display. Also a boy will often take a bullock name from one of the animals in his father's herd to which he has taken a fancy, again generally the calf of the cow he milks every day, but this is only in imitation of his elders when playing with other boys in make believe of adult life. He has no right to the name and no man would address him by it nor would he mention it in the presence of his elders. But after initiation he has a bullock and a bullock name in his own full social right. 233 554 553 421

I have already mentioned how he will play with this bullock, and look after it, and sing about it. Undoubtedly a man feels much attachment to the animal and is very much upset at its death. I do not, however, consider this attachment to be like the sentimental attachment which Europeans often feel for a favourite dog or horse. Their feeling springs mainly, I believe, from the association of social prestige which the bullock brings to its owner. It is a shame if one has no bullock to display when one's comrades are having theirs led in procession round the camp. The more bullocks one can put into these processions the greater the prestige of one's name, for a man with several bullocks is obviously a man of wealth and standing, while a man who has not even a single one is of the poorest of the poor. Even if we also take into account the ritual use of bullocks as a sacrificial medium between men and spirits and ghosts, I still think that there has been a tendency to exaggerate the emotional feeling of Nilotes towards particular animals. If a bullock dies its owner will acquire a new one and will take a new bullock name if he cares to do so. He may at any time change his bullock name if a new animal takes his fancy, though people generally seem to keep to the name they took after initiation. During his lifetime a man possesses a great number of bullocks and when he is married he will part with some of them, while others will be handed over to assist relatives to marry or to pay blood-compensation and yet others will be killed on ceremonial occasions. Nuer are never tired of speaking of these bullocks and enumerating their points. Much more could be said on the subject, but as it is only incidental to the institution of age-sets it cannot be discussed here in its completeness.

A man acquires a bullock name at initiation from the animal given to him by his father. He will be addressed by this name by his age-mates—it is particularly their privilege to do so—but also the members 232 553

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of the age-sets directly senior and junior to his set may also call him by his bullock name. Members of his family and kin will address him by his birth name or by a relationship term. The use of a bullock name has egalitarian implications so that it would not be used between persons whose age-sets are distant from one another. A younger man would not address one much older than himself by his bullock name but as "*gwe*," "father," or by the complimentary title of "son of so-and-so," mentioning the name of his father, or "father of so-and-so," mentioning the name of his eldest child whether son or daughter. Also an old man would not address a much younger one by his bullock name, but as "*gatde*," "my son."

561 554

The change of social behaviour which takes place in the life of a Nuer when he passes from the grade of boyhood to the grade of manhood, from *dhol* to *wut*, is shown in the customs I have just described, milking, household tasks of byre and kraal love-making, dancing, ownership of spear and bullock and bullock-names, etc. But these are customs which differentiate one grade from another grade and not one set from another set. All the age-sets are equivalent in their enjoyment of these privileges and present an undifferentiated opposition to the boys who are deprived of them. There are no further grades into which a set as a whole advances. The Nuer age-sets do not pass out of the grade of warriors into the grade of elders as these grades are not clearly defined among the Nuer. A man, as explained above, ceases to fight when he considers himself too old for this sport and not because his set passes out of a warrior-grade. He marries when he is old enough to do so and when there are sufficient cattle to provide him with a bride, and not because his set passes into a grade of married elders. Instead of the three grades of the Masai system, Boy-grade, Warrior-grade, Elder-grade, there are properly only two Nuer grades, Boy-grade and Man-grade.

But though not graded the sets are stratified and have a traditional pattern of behaviour between one another so that membership of one set evokes a different pattern of behaviour from members of all the other sets. Thus, from the point of view of an individual Nuer, male society falls into three adult groupings: those whom you respect as seniors (associated with your fathers); those with whom you are on terms of intimacy (associated with your brothers); those who owe respect to you (associated with your sons). These patterns of authority, submissiveness and egality, are the only three possible patterns of behaviour between